

LAKE SNELL PERRY & ASSOCIATES, INC.

1726 M Street, N.W.

Suite 500

Washington, D.C. 20036-3118

Telephone: 202/776-9066

Invoice

Date	Invoice #
4/27/2001	6331

Bill To

KILPATRICK FOR MAYOR
ATTN: BOB BERG
P.O. BOX 441730
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48244

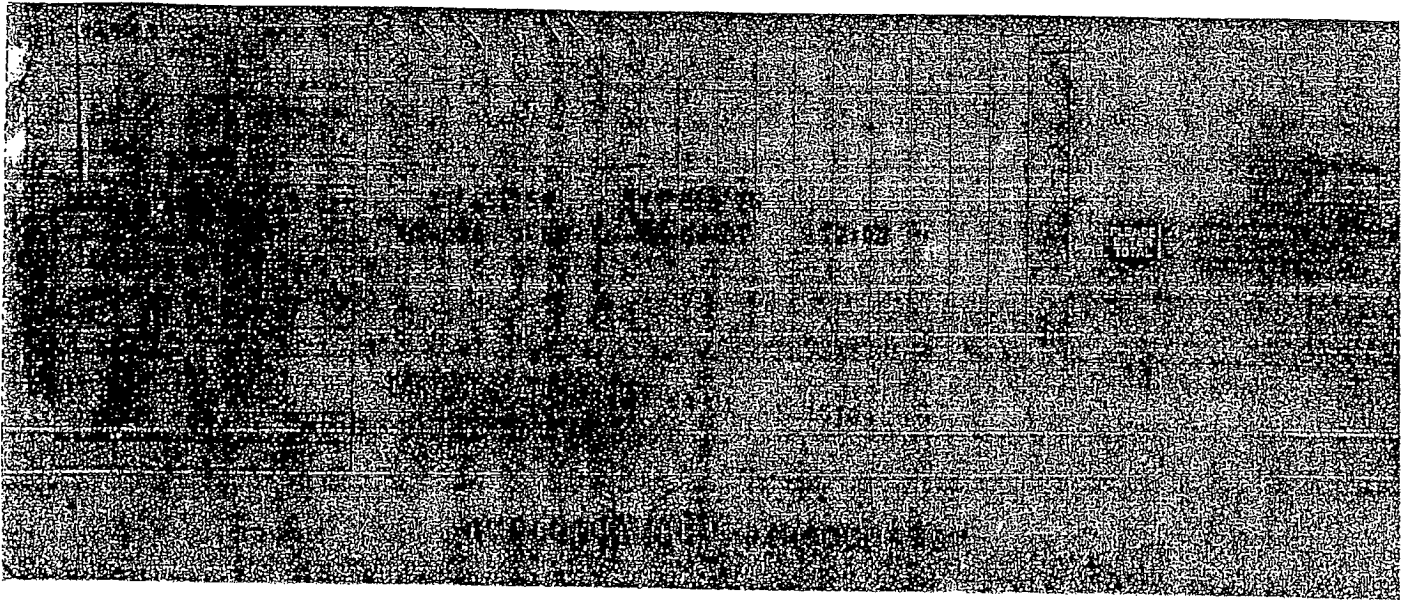
PAID

Description	Amount
500 SAMPLE - 20 MINUTE SURVEY TOTAL= \$21,930.00 60% NOW DUE	13,158.00
60% PAYMENT DUE PRIOR TO START OF SURVEY	
Total	\$13,158.00

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
KCF - 3

INT 0000004

KCF-0003.0001



1205

KILPATRICK CIVIC FUND

13160 W. MC NICHOLS
DETROIT, MI 48235

9-80 937 101
720

DATE

04/28/01

PAID
TO THE
ORDER OF

Lake Snell Perry & Associates, Inc.

\$ 13,158.00

thirteen thousand one hundred fifty eight

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100

DOLLARS



Michigan National Bank

1-800-CALL MNB
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FOR

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Christina Beatty
James H. Zytka

000130 1105100505

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LAKE SNELL PERRY & ASSOCIATES, INC.

1726 M Street, N.W.

Suite 500

Washington, D.C. 20036-3118

Telephone: 202/776-9066

Invoice

Date	Invoice #
6/15/2001	6445

Bill To
KILPATRICK FOR MAYOR ATTN: BOB BERG P.O. BOX 441730 DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48244

PAID

Description	Amount
500 SAMPLE-20 MINUTE SURVEY TOTAL= \$21,930.00 40% NOW DUE	8,772.00
40% BALANCE NOW DUE	
Total	\$8,772.00

KILPATRICK CIVIC FUND

13160 W. MC NICHOLS
DETROIT, MI 48235

1297

9-80 937101
720

PAY
TO THE
ORDER OF

DATE 07/30/01

Lake, Snell, Perry

eight thousand seven hundred seventy two

\$ 8772.00

00
100 DOLLARS



Michigan National Bank

1-800-CALL MNB
1-800-227-5662

FOR

balance for poll

Christine Beatty

Swane M. Ryfatek

INT 0000007.

KCF-0003.0004

Kwame Kilpatrick for Mayor of Detroit

Overview of Survey Findings

Prepared for Kwame Kilpatrick
by

Celinda Lake, David Cantor, Daniel Gotoff, and Thaddeus Windt
Lake Snell Perry & Associates
May 2001

Lake Snell Perry & Associates, Inc.

INT 0000057

KCF-0003.0005

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The following report summarizes the key findings from a recent survey of 500 likely voters in the September, 2001 Detroit Mayor's election¹.

STRATEGIC SUMMARY

The Ballot and the Candidates

- **The 9-way ballot shows Gill leading Kilpatrick by 7-points, getting 19 percent to 12 percent for Kilpatrick. Clarke currently is third (with 10 percent), followed by Napoleon (9 percent) who has since exited the race, Hood (7 percent), and Fieger (6 percent). McPhail (4 percent), Beckham (3 percent), and Brooks (1 percent) round out the field. Three in ten voters (29 percent) remain undecided.**
- In the 5-way ballot—without Clarke, Fieger, McPhail, and Napoleon—Hill's margin drops to 4-points over Kilpatrick. Hill garners 24 percent to 20 percent for Kilpatrick, followed by Hood (8 percent), Beckham (7 percent), and Brooks (1 percent). A plurality of voters remain undecided (40 percent).
- To know Kwame is to like him. The problem is that not enough people know him. Half of voters currently have a favorable view, while only 15 percent hold an unfavorable view. More than a third of voters either have no opinion or have never heard of him.
 - Undecided voters and seniors in particular lack a firm impression of Kilpatrick. In addition, Kwame is less well known among include union members, whites, unmarried women, voters with a high school degree or less education, strong Democratic women, and weekly church goers.
 - The good news is that Kwame is better known among harder to reach, less attentive younger voters under 45 years of age, and these younger voters view him favorably.

¹ Lake Snell Perry & Associates designed and administered this survey, which was conducted by phone using professional interviewers. The survey reached 500 adults age 18 or older in Detroit who indicated they are registered and likely to vote in the September 2001 Mayoral Election. The survey was conducted between May 1st -3rd, 2001. The margin of error for the full sample is +/-4.4%.

- There is a large group of target voters who already like Kwame but are not currently voting for him (39 percent of the electorate). These voters are disproportionately married women, voters in the southern part of the city, and people who are currently voting for Clarke.
- Gill Hill is well known and very popular among Detroit voters, with a majority of every demographic group holding a favorable impression of him. His personal profile and name recognition is much stronger than that of any other potential mayoral candidate, though he has yet to translate that popularity into support on the ballot.
 - While most voters know and like Hill, they are not voting for him. They are waiting for an alternative.
- ***Kilpatrick has not locked up any group***—there is no group in which he has even a quarter of the electorate. Kilpatrick is stronger with certain groups, including younger voters, college graduates, married women, Republicans, and Independents. Kilpatrick also does somewhat better among white voters, among voters in the 15th Congressional District and in the southern part of Detroit.
 - In many ways, ***Clarke voters look like Kilpatrick voters***, and over half of Clarke voters pick Kilpatrick as their second choice. Getting Clarke out of the race would be a significant advantage for the Kilpatrick campaign.
- Top endorsements would come from Archer and from unions such as the Detroit Federation of Teachers, UAW, and the AFL-CIO. It also should be noted that while we did not include an endorsement by Benny Napoleon, the highly favorable impression voters have of him is an indication that his endorsement will carry weight.
- A teachers' endorsement is particularly persuasive to undecided voters. Garnering the teachers endorsement would be a tremendous credential and help to secure support from key targets and swing voters.
- Turnout on election day will be a key factor. Hill is strongest with voters who say they are certain to vote on election day, but trails Clarke and Kilpatrick among probable voters. Among turnout targets (probable voters), endorsements by Conyers and Kilpatrick are highly persuasive.

The Mood of the Electorate

- Archer's legacy will be a delicate subject for the campaign. Voters think that it is time for a change rather than continuing Archer's policies. However, voters think the city is headed in the right direction, think Archer is doing a good job, and like him personally. *The key is for Kilpatrick to be the candidate of the future without seeming to be trashing the policies (and the people) of the past.*
 - Even voters who think it is time for a change think the city is headed in the right direction, have an overwhelmingly favorable impression of Archer, and think Archer is doing a good job.
- Concerns about crime and drugs top the diffuse agenda, followed by education and youth programs, jobs and economic development, services for seniors, city services, and abandoned buildings.
 - Crime is even more of an issue among the all-important seniors vote. Seniors are less education oriented. Undecided voters are also less education oriented, but are more focused on services for seniors.
- Voters have a lot of priorities for the next mayor, with particular emphasis on public safety (while cracking down on police brutality), city services, and education. In general, voters put such issue priorities ahead of character traits (such as management- or leadership-style). However, dynamic leadership will be a key contrast with Hill and leadership and effective management will need to be displayed through the prism of the key issues and policies.
- Age is not a barrier. Experience is more important to voters than age. As the campaign moves forward, it will be important to credential Kwame's experience on the issues that matter while also displaying youth and dynamic leadership.

Messages and Positioning

- The overarching campaign theme is one of energetic, dynamic leadership summed up by the campaign's tagline: Our Future. Right Here. Right Now. The four key components illustrating this umbrella message are: education, public safety, services for children and seniors, and making Detroit work for Detroit.

- Education: An effective Kilpatrick education message capitalizes on Kwame's experience as a teacher and as a father of two young children and stresses investing in schools, preparing kids for the jobs of the future, and investing in after-school programs to keep kids safe. There is also a values component to education (especially among older voters) with character education and teaching kids respect and responsibility key components. Validation from the teachers' union endorsement would be important.
- Public Safety: With Hill's credentials on crime, it will be difficult for us to take this issue on directly. However, there are areas where Kwame is credible and where we have specific proposals that resonate with voters. In particular, focusing on ensuring that public safety services, fire services, and EMS are ready to respond to emergencies. Credentialing with an early endorsement by firefighters and EMS will help reinforce this message. Other successful messages focus on safe schools, neighborhood policing, and dedicating an officer in each precinct to handle crime against seniors.
- Services for children and seniors: This message is tied to the public safety arguments, and particularly safe schools, neighborhood police, and a police officer in every precinct working on seniors issues. Additionally, voters respond strongly to language around "my child" health care programs as well as background checks for childcare and eldercare workers.
- Make Detroit work for Detroit: Messages in this area capture Kwame's experience in Lansing, the desire of voters to put the interests of the city first, and the desire for government to work for, and be fiscally accountable to, ordinary voters. Specific language that resonates with voters includes holding city departments accountable, requiring city contractors to pay a livable wage and give jobs to the people of Detroit first, fixing potholes and street lights, and Detroit getting its fair share from Lansing.
- Simulating equal levels of positive media from each of the campaigns brings Kilpatrick into the lead. After hearing descriptions of each of the candidates, their priorities and their accomplishments, the vote shifts, with Kwame moving ahead of Hill. No other candidate gains as much support as Kilpatrick does.
- Targeted turnout will be important. Kilpatrick does better with voters who are less likely to turnout. For example, among strong Democrats (down 17-points) and

certain voters (down 10-points) Kilpatrick is trailing. Carolyn Kilpatrick can be helpful with these voters who are less likely to turnout.

- The simulation also does not account for potential erosion from Kilpatrick among union households if the endorsements are lost. Currently, the simulation shows Kilpatrick leading among voters in union households.

PROFILE OF THE ELECTORATE

A Demographic Analysis

The typical voter in the September election will be an older, African American, church going, Democratic woman without a college education. Close to half the electorate is constituted of seniors age 65 and older (45 percent); three-quarters of voters are African American (75 percent); 58 percent are Democrats; 58 percent are women; half go to church every week (50 percent); and only one in five have a college degree (22 percent). As a note of caution, Kilpatrick currently does better with voters under 40 (Kilpatrick gets 16 percent of the youth vote on the initial, 9-way ballot) than seniors (8 percent), better with college graduates (16 percent) than voters without a college education (11 percent), better with Independents (20 percent) and Republicans (17 percent) than Democrats (8 percent), and slightly better with whites (14 percent) than African Americans (11 percent).

Other significant characteristics of the electorate include:

SEPTEMBER ELECTORATE: A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

- ⇒ A majority of voters in the September Mayoral election are women (58 percent). Women also constitute 58 percent of the undecided voters.
 - Retired women make up only 21 percent of the electorate, but 28 percent of the undecided voters.
- ⇒ Three-quarters of likely voters are African Americans (75 percent).
- ⇒ Three-quarters of likely voters lack a college degree (78 percent), 22 percent have a college degree.
 - Close to half of the electorate are women without a college degree (46 percent).
- ⇒ A near majority of the electorate is age 65 and older (45 percent). Only 28 percent is under age 50 (and 23 percent of the undecided voters).
- ⇒ Fifty-eight percent of primary voters are in the 14th Congressional District; 42 percent are in the 15th.
 - The north-central region of the city constitutes 31 percent of the electorate, but 38 percent of the undecided voters.
- ⇒ Six in ten voters consider themselves to be Democrats (58 percent), including 39 percent who consider themselves to be "strong Democrats" (44 percent of the undecided voters).
 - One in five voters are Republicans (21 percent) and 15 percent are Independents.
- ⇒ Labor union households comprise over a quarter of the electorate (28 percent).

The Issue Agenda

Voters have a number of priorities. Crime and drugs (21 percent combined) top the diffuse agenda, followed by education and youth programs (17 percent), jobs and economic development (13 percent), services for seniors (11 percent), city services (11 percent), and abandoned buildings (9 percent). A second tier of priorities includes taxes and government spending (6 percent), roads, highways, and bridges (4 percent), mass transit (3 percent), and parks and open spaces (1 percent). Crime is even more of an issue among the all-important seniors vote. Seniors are less education oriented, as are undecided voters (who are more focused on services for seniors).

Voters whose top concern is crime and drugs give Hill slightly higher levels of support than voters overall (partly because these voters tend to be older). Hill gets 22 percent of the vote among crime and drugs oriented voters, followed by Napoleon (who would have gotten 16 percent of their vote if he had stayed in the race). Those voters most concerned with crime and drugs include seniors (26 percent), retired women (25 percent), women over 45 (25 percent), unmarried women (24 percent), and moms (24 percent).

Kilpatrick does very well among education-oriented voters (in part because of age), getting 23 percent of their vote to 22 percent for Hill and 11 percent for Hood. These voters are less likely to be undecided than other voters (17 percent). Those voters most concerned with education include homemakers (25 percent), younger women (24 percent), moms (23 percent), and college graduates (22 percent)—especially college educated women (24 percent). Education is also of particular interest to Kilpatrick voters, 32 percent of whom list it as their top priority.

Kilpatrick and Clarke share a base among voters whose top priority is jobs and economic development, with each getting 18 percent of the vote among these voters, to 13 percent for Hill and 11 percent for Beckham. Those voters most focused on this area include voters under 45 (22 percent), younger voters without a college degree (22 percent), college-educated men (20 percent), Republican women (19 percent), married women (18 percent), and voters in labor households (18 percent). Jobs and economic development is more of a focus for Clarke voters (23 percent) than for other voters. While none of the economic messages test particularly well, including economic messages as an overall component of Kilpatrick's strategy in speeches and debates is important.

Voters whose top concerns revolve around services for seniors are disproportionately undecided (48 percent). In fact, after crime and drugs, this is the top issue for undecided voters. Not surprisingly, widows (21 percent), retired women (19 percent) and seniors (16

percent) are the most likely to select services for seniors as their top concern. Among seniors services oriented voters that have made up their mind, Hill currently leads (with 18 percent), followed by Fieger (10 percent). Kilpatrick gets 6 percent of the vote among these voters.

Voters who shift toward Kilpatrick worry most about jobs and economic development (21 percent), education and youth (18 percent), city services (15 percent), and services for senior citizens (11 percent). Crime and drugs (15 percent) are less of a concern for these voters.

The Archer Legacy

Mayor Archer's legacy will be a delicate subject for the campaign. A majority of voters think that it is time for a change (56 percent) rather than time for a mayor to continue the policies of Dennis Archer (33 percent). However, voters think the city is headed in the right direction (59 percent); they think Archer is doing a good job (66 percent, including 21 percent who think he is doing an excellent job); and they like him (69 percent favorable including 33 percent very favorable). Further, an endorsement by Archer in the mayor's race is among the most important for voters (rivaled by the Detroit Federation of Teachers, local African American ministers, and Wendell Anthony).

Even voters who think it is time for a change think the city is headed in the right direction (52 percent), have an overwhelmingly favorable impression of Archer (60 percent, 23 percent very favorable), and think Archer is doing a good job (51 percent).

The key is for Kilpatrick to be the candidate of the future without seeming to be trashing the policies (and the people) of the past. Retired women (61 percent), moms (61 percent), non-college educated voters (60 percent) and African Americans (60 percent) are most likely to think that it is time for a change rather than for a mayor who will continue Archer's policies.

The Politics of Casinos

Casinos are a delicate issue, splitting the electorate. Voters are slightly more likely to think that the expansion of casino gambling has been bad for the city (28 percent), than to think it has been good for the city (20 percent). Most voters either think it has had a mixed effect (36 percent) or are unsure (16 percent). Further, keeping "casinos off the riverfront" ranks last among a list of priorities for the next mayor. Kilpatrick messages focusing on casinos are not as strong as our other messages.

Kilpatrick voters are more likely to think the expansion of casinos has been bad for the city (35 percent), as are Clarke voters. Hill voters are slightly more likely to think the expansion of casinos has been good for the city (25 percent), and undecided voters tend to think casinos have had a mixed impact on the city.

Younger voters (and particularly younger women), Republicans, whites, and voters in the south and western part of the city are the most likely to think casinos have been bad for the city. Taken together, survey results suggest this is an issue we would not particularly highlight in our message. Instead, a message about a better long-term economic strategy than casinos, including new stores, restaurants, and investing in parks and open spaces along the waterfront is quite strong.

WHAT VOTERS ARE LOOKING FOR IN A MAYOR

Voters have a lot of priorities for the next mayor, with particular emphasis on public safety (while cracking down on police brutality), city services, and education. In general, voters put issue priorities (like crime or education) ahead of character traits (such as management style, or leadership). However, several of these traits are also important, particularly in setting up a contrast with Hill and reassuring voters that such a young candidate is an experienced leader.

A majority of voters think that a mayor who “will crack down on violent crime and drugs” (55 percent), “crack down on police brutality” (53 percent), “whose first priority will be improving city services like police, fire, and EMS” (52 percent), and “put education first” (51 percent) are among the absolutely most important priorities for the next mayor of Detroit. Of only slightly lesser importance are “a mayor who will invest in services for children and seniors” (49 percent), “a mayor who will work with the Governor and state legislature to increase funding to Detroit” (49 percent), and “a mayor who will focus on the neighborhoods of Detroit to improve the lives of average citizens” (46 percent).

While character traits and management style are of slightly less importance, voters do feel several of these traits are highly important. “A mayor who will manage government more effectively” (46 percent), “a mayor who is a dynamic leader” (44 percent), and “a mayor who will bring people together” (43 percent) are among the absolutely most important qualities for the next mayor of Detroit. This is not to say that the campaign should ignore these traits. Dynamic leadership will be a key contrast with the other candidates, and Hill in particular. However, leadership will not be enough in and of itself. Leadership and management will need to be displayed through the prism of the key issues of education, public safety, and city services for children and seniors.

The next tier of issue priorities includes making sure the city makes decisions for itself (45 percent), cutting taxes and government spending (44 percent), putting economic growth and jobs first (43 percent), tearing down abandoned buildings (43 percent), improving city services like street lights and trash pick up (41 percent), and working to bring jobs to the city (40 percent). Of considerably less importance to voters are investing in infrastructure, improving public transportation, keeping casinos off the riverfront, and investing in parks and open spaces.

Undecided voters share the same priorities as voters overall, though they put even less emphasis on character traits like leadership and bringing people together. Of the most

importance to these voters are cracking down on violent crime and drugs, improving city services like police, fire and EMS, and improving education.

ISSUE PRIORITIES AND CHARACTER TRAITS			
PRIORITY/TRAIT	ALL VOTERS	UNDECIDED VOTERS	SENIORS
<i>Q41 Crack down on violent crime and drugs</i>	55% top priority	56%	59%
<i>Q45 Crack down on police brutality</i>	53%	49%	55%
<i>Q43 1st priority will be police, fire, and EMS</i>	52%	51%	57%
<i>Q28 Put education first</i>	51%	47%	51%
<i>Q30 Invest in services for children and seniors</i>	49%	44%	53%
<i>Q42 Work with Governor/State Legislature to get state funds</i>	49%	45%	50%
<i>Q44 Manage government more efficiently</i>	46%	40%	46%
<i>Q32 Focus on neighborhoods to improve lives</i>	46%	41%	45%
<i>Q37 Make sure city makes decisions for itself</i>	45%	38%	44%
<i>Q35 Be a dynamic leader</i>	44%	38%	41%
<i>Q40 Cut taxes and government spending</i>	44%	47%	40%
<i>Q35 Bring people together</i>	43%	38%	41%
<i>Q33 Put economic growth and jobs first</i>	43%	36%	44%
<i>Q26 Fund tearing down abandoned buildings</i>	43%	39%	44%
<i>Q39 1st priority fixing street lights/trash</i>	41%	41%	43%
<i>Q31 Work with business to bring jobs to the city</i>	40%	38%	41%
<i>Q29 Invest more in infrastructure</i>	34%	33%	39%
<i>Q27 Make improving public transportation a top priority</i>	34%	33%	37%
<i>Q34 Keep casinos off the riverfront</i>	30%	24%	32%
<i>Q25 Invest in parks and open spaces</i>	28%	28%	26%

Seniors put even more emphasis on public safety, wanting a mayor who will crack down on crime and drugs and improve city services like police, fire, and EMS. At the same time, this key group of voters also wants a mayor who will crack down on police brutality. Importantly, however, education also matters to seniors. While character traits matter more to seniors than to undecided voters, they are still of less importance than issues and need to be displayed through issues and policies.

While both men and women stress the importance of a mayor who will crack down on public safety and improve public safety services, there are slight differences in emphasis. Men prioritize cracking down on violent crime and drugs (56 percent). Women prioritize improving police, fire, and EMS services (56 percent) and cracking down on police brutality (56 percent). Women also place more emphasis on services for children and seniors.

Age and Experience

Age is not a barrier in the 2001 Detroit mayor's race. Experience is more important to voters than age. Thus, as the campaign moves forward, it will be important to credential Kwame's experience on the issues that matter while also portraying his youth and dynamic leadership.

Voters have no preference between a mayor who is 31 years old (23 percent) and a mayor who is 69 years old (24 percent); most voters say age makes no difference (45 percent). When told that each has been in office for a number of years in leadership positions, opinions barely change, with a slight preference for a 31-year-old (27 percent) than a 69-year-old (25 percent); most voters still think age makes no difference (40 percent).

Those voters most likely to prefer a 31-year-old mayor include working women (+13 net advantage for 31-year old mayor), strong Democrats (+10), voters under age 45 (+8), and weekly church goers (+5). Older women (-7), unmarried women (-6), voters in the 14th Congressional District (-4), and voters without a college degree (-4) are among those groups who favor a 69-year-old mayor. Undecided voters favor a younger mayor (+5). Voters who want to continue Archer's policies (-9) favor an older mayor, while voters who think it is time for a change (+5) favor a younger mayor.

Voters favor city council experience (27 percent) over experience in Lansing (17 percent), though most think it makes no difference (46 percent). Interestingly, Kilpatrick voters are much more likely to favor experience in the city council (42 percent) than state legislative experience (13 percent). However, among undecided voters, type of experience makes less difference (55 percent no difference).

IMAGES OF THE CANDIDATES

Kilpatrick's Personal Image

To know Kwame is to like him. But the problem for the campaign is that not enough people know him. Close to half of voters currently have a favorable view of Kilpatrick (49 percent, including 16 percent very favorable). Only 15 percent of voters hold an unfavorable view of him (8 percent very unfavorable). However, more than a third of voters either have no opinion (26 percent) or have never heard of him (11 percent).

Not surprisingly, undecided voters in particular lack a firm impression of Kilpatrick (50 percent no opinion/never heard), as do seniors (41 percent). Other groups lacking a firm impression include union members (47 percent), whites (44 percent), unmarried women (43 percent), voters with a high school degree or less education (42 percent), strong Democrats (41 percent)—especially strong Democratic women (45 percent)—and weekly church goers (41 percent).

The good news is that Kwame is relatively better known among harder to reach, less attentive younger voters under 45 years of age, and these younger voters view him favorably (58 percent, 23 percent very favorable). All demographic groups are more likely to have a favorable impression of Kilpatrick than an unfavorable impression. Kilpatrick is strongest among married women (60 percent, 19 percent very favorable), college graduates (59 percent, 17 percent very favorable)—especially college-educated women (63 percent, 18 percent very favorable), working women (57 percent, 15 percent very favorable), the 15th Congressional District (55 percent, 17 percent very favorable), voters in the southern part of the city (55 percent, 19 percent very favorable), Independents (53 percent, 16 percent very favorable) and Republicans (53 percent, 20 percent very favorable).

There is a large group of target voters who already like Kwame but are not currently voting for him (39 percent). These voters are disproportionately married women (47 percent like Kwame but are not voting for him), voters in the southern part of the city (46 percent), and people who are currently voting for Clarke (66 percent).

Other Potential Gubernatorial Candidates

Gill Hill is well known and very popular among Detroit voters, with a majority of every demographic group holding a favorable impression of him. His personal profile and name recognition is much stronger than that of any other potential mayoral candidate, though he has yet to translate that popularity into support on the ballot.

Overall, two-thirds of likely voters have a favorable impression of **Hill** (65 percent), with 30 percent viewing him very favorably. At the same time, only 17 percent view him unfavorably (8 percent very unfavorable). While Hill's popularity is both broad and deep, he is particularly well liked by retired women (73 percent, 36 percent very favorable), voters with some college education but without a college degree (70 percent, 34 percent very favorable), strong Democrats (70 percent, 35 percent very favorable), weekly church goers (70 percent, 34 percent very favorable), voters in the eastern part of the city (70 percent, 29 percent very favorable), and married women (67 percent, 35 percent very favorable). Hill is viewed somewhat less favorably by labor union members (47 percent, 18 percent very favorable).

With such broad support, it is worth noting that Hill is also popular with many of the same voters who view Kilpatrick favorably—73 percent of voters who view Kilpatrick favorably view Hill favorably (including 32 percent very favorable). Hill is also very popular with people who view Archer favorably (74 percent, 35 percent very favorable).

Nicholas Hood, who is slightly better known than Kilpatrick, has equally favorable ratings, but slightly higher unfavorable ratings (23 percent) than either Kilpatrick or Hill. Overall, 53 percent of voters view Hood favorably (16 percent very favorable).

Demographic groups who have a particularly favorable impression of Hood include voters with some college education but without a college degree (62 percent, 19 percent very favorable), homemakers (61 percent, 25 percent very favorable), moms (61 percent, 26 percent very favorable), married men (60 percent, 16 percent very favorable), women under age 45 (59 percent, 20 percent very favorable), Republicans (59 percent, 20 percent very favorable), and voters in the western part of the city (54 percent, 22 percent very favorable). Hood is also viewed favorably by people who view Kilpatrick favorably (66 percent, 19 percent very favorable), and people who view Hill favorably (62 percent, 17 percent very favorable).

Sharon McPhail is one of the most polarizing of the potential candidates (along with Fieger). Her past campaigns have left her well known (only 22 percent no opinion/never heard). However, while she gets about the same level of favorable ratings as Kilpatrick and Hood (48 percent, 15 percent very favorable), voters are twice as likely to view her unfavorably (31 percent, including 17 percent unfavorable). Noticeably, there is no gender gap in McPhail's ratings, with men (47 percent, 12 percent very favorable) and women (48 percent, 17 percent very favorable) giving her similar ratings. McPhail is viewed most favorably by independents (57 percent, 19 percent very favorable), married women (57

percent, 19 percent very favorable), moms (55 percent, 19 percent very favorable), voters in the western part of the city (53 percent, 15 percent very favorable), and voters under age 45 (51 percent, 22 percent very favorable). We should also note that both men and women are slightly more likely to prefer a woman for mayor.

CANDIDATE	IMAGE OF THE CANDIDATES ²		
	ALL VOTERS	UNDECIDED VOTERS	SENIORS
<i>Kwame Kilpatrick</i>	(49% fav., 16% very)	(37% fav., 12% very)	(42% fav., 16% very)
<i>Gill Hill</i>	(65% fav., 30% very)	(59% fav., 21% very)	(69% fav., 32% very)
<i>Nicholas Hood</i>	(53% fav., 16% very)	(42% fav., 10% very)	(56% fav., 17% very)
<i>Sharon McPhail</i>	(48% fav., 15% very)	(43% fav., 12% very)	(45% fav., 14% very)
<i>Geoffrey Fieger</i>	(46% fav., 14% very)	(37% fav., 11% very)	(50% fav., 17% very)
<i>Charles Beckham</i>	(34% fav., 10% very)	(28% fav., 3% very)	(29% fav., 8% very)
<i>William Brooks</i>	(30% fav., 8% very)	(23% fav., 3% very)	(29% fav., 6% very)

Geoffrey Fieger is also a well known and highly polarizing figure. Voters are only slightly more likely to view Fieger favorably (46 percent, 14 percent very favorable) as to view him unfavorably (33 percent, 19 percent very unfavorable). In fact, several groups of voters hold more unfavorable than favorable views of Fieger, including college graduates (8-points net unfavorable) and whites (7-points net unfavorable). Fieger's favorability ratings divide heavily on racial lines, with whites viewing him unfavorably, and African Americans holding a much more favorable view (20-points net favorable). Fieger is most popular with voters under 45 (52 percent, 16 percent very favorable), Republicans (53 percent, 18 percent very favorable), married men (54 percent, 13 percent very favorable), and voters in the western part of the city (53 percent, 20 percent very favorable).

Voters have less firm impressions of the other potential candidates. A third of voters hold a favorable view of *Charles Beckham* (34 percent, 10 percent very favorable) and *William Brooks* (30 percent favorable, 8 percent very favorable). Beckham is somewhat more popular with homemakers, voters with some college education, married women, and voters in the southern part of the city. Similarly, Brooks is more popular with homemakers,

² Clarke's personal favorability was not measured in the survey.

voters with some college education, Independents, and married women. Not surprisingly, both candidates are also more popular with Republicans.

Other Political Figures and Organizations

Contrary to conventional wisdom, **Dennis Archer** continues to be viewed overwhelmingly favorably. Two-thirds of voters hold a favorable view of him (69 percent, 33 percent very favorable). A majority of every demographic group of voters views Archer favorably, though he is particularly strong with seniors. Undecided voters also view Archer favorably. His endorsement (as we discuss below) is also powerful.

Benny Napoleon also gets largely favorable ratings. A majority of voters view him favorably (56 percent, 21 percent very favorable). Not surprisingly, Napoleon is particularly popular with voters whose top concern is crime and drugs. He also is considerably more popular in the west and east, but is less popular in the southern and north central parts of the city. The **police department** also enjoys strong favorable ratings, with a majority viewing the department favorably (59 percent, 18 percent very favorable) and a quarter of voters viewing the department unfavorably (25 percent, 9 percent very unfavorable). Every group of voters is more likely to view the department favorably than unfavorably, with seniors and voters in the western part of the city holding the most favorable views. Voters whose top concern is crime and drugs, and also Hill voters, hold a more favorable impression of the police department than do other voters. College graduates and voters in labor households are more likely to view the department unfavorably.

Ricardo Soloman is less well known than the other political figures, with a majority of most demographic groups lacking a firm impression of him. Soloman is better known and viewed favorably by younger voters, Republicans, and those from the southern part of the city.

George W. Bush is a highly polarizing figure in Detroit, as likely to be viewed unfavorably (42 percent) as favorably (41 percent). Those with strong feelings are twice as likely to be unfavorable (28 percent very unfavorable) as favorable (14 percent very favorable). Undecided voters have a slightly more favorable impression of the president (5-points net favorable). While Bush is a polarizing figure, Detroit voters view Governor **Engler** unfavorably (8-points net unfavorable). Engler is also viewed unfavorably by most demographic groups. Those groups that view him favorably include younger voters, less educated voters, Republicans and Independents, voters in the 15th Congressional District,

and voters in the southern part of the city. Kilpatrick voters also view Engler unfavorably (7-points net unfavorable) as do undecided voters (5-points net unfavorable).

Debbie Stabenow and Carolyn Kilpatrick are both very popular in Detroit. Voters are three times as likely to view *Stabenow* favorably (59 percent, 21 percent very favorable) as unfavorably (17 percent, 7 percent very unfavorable). A majority of every group in the city (including Republicans) views her favorably. Similarly, a majority of voters hold a favorable impression of *Carolyn Kilpatrick* (56 percent, 16 percent very favorable). She is particularly popular with married voters, moms, and voters in the 15th Congressional District. Not surprisingly, Kwame's voters also view her favorably.

Voters have a firmer and more favorable impression of the city council than of the state legislature. A majority of voters view the *city council* favorably (54 percent, 13 percent very favorable), with a quarter holding an unfavorable impression (27 percent). About a third of voters lack a firm impression of the *state legislature* (30 percent). Undecided voters are even more likely to be unable to rate the legislature (36 percent). Those able to rate the legislature are twice as likely to hold a favorable view (47 percent, 13 percent very favorable) as to hold an unfavorable view (23 percent, 10 percent very unfavorable). Every group of voters (except moms) views the city council more favorably than they view the legislature.

Endorsements

There are a number of endorsements that matter to Detroit voters, however several of these are more likely to go with Hill. Top endorsements would come from Archer (48 percent more likely to vote for endorsed candidate) and from unions such as the Detroit Federation of Teachers (51 percent), UAW (48 percent), and the AFL-CIO (48 percent). It also should be noted that while we did not include an endorsement by Benny Napoleon, the highly favorable impression voters have of him is an indication that his endorsement of Hill will carry weight, particularly among voters focused on the issue of crime and drugs.

Support from teachers would be the most persuasive endorsement for undecided voters (39 percent), those focused on education (66 percent), and voters who currently like Kilpatrick but are not voting for him. Education and kids issues are a key component of a winning Kilpatrick message. Garnering the teachers endorsement would be a tremendous credential and help to secure support from key targets and swing voters. Holding the teachers at least neutral is key.

Of only slightly less importance than the top tier would be endorsements by Wendell Anthony (47 percent), local African American ministers (47 percent), John Conyers (46 percent), the Black Slate (43 percent), the Chamber of Commerce (43 percent), and Carolyn Kilpatrick (43 percent). Conyers endorsement carries more weight in the 15th Congressional district and in the western part of the city. Carolyn Kilpatrick's endorsement carries more weight with younger voters and in the south and north central parts of the city. Among turnout targets (voters who tell us they are less likely to turn out and vote), endorsements by Conyers and Kilpatrick are highly persuasive. Turnout will be key on election day, as Kwame is currently stronger with probable voters than with certain voters.

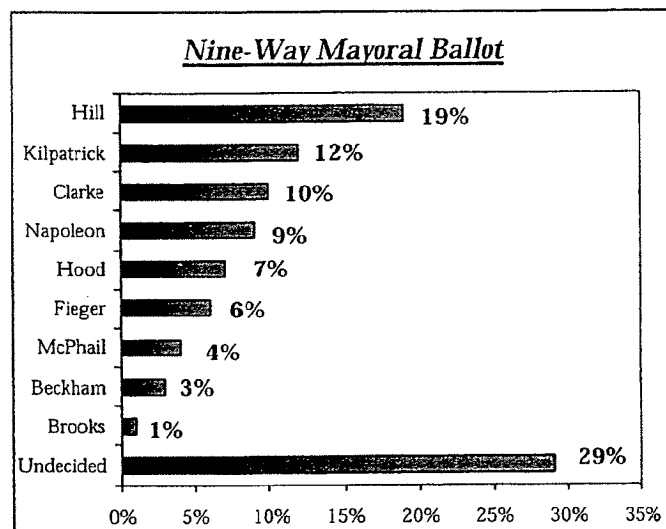
Endorsements by Ed McNamara (40 percent), Frank Kelly (39 percent), and Freeman Hendrix (35 percent) would be of somewhat less importance to voters. It should be noted that a McNamara endorsement would make some voters less likely to vote for a mayoral candidate (14 percent). In particular, unmarried men (20 percent), younger voters (19 percent), college graduates (19 percent), and strong Democrats (19 percent) contain a higher proportion of people who are less likely to vote for a candidate endorsed by McNamara. However, in each of these groups, McNamara still brings more supporters than he loses.

CONTOURS OF SUPPORT

Detroit Mayoral Election: 9 Way Ballot

While the ballot continues to shake out, and at least one of the candidates tested has already dropped out of the race, the 9-way ballot shows Gill Hill in a strong position. Hill leads Kilpatrick by 7-points, getting 19 percent to 12 percent for Kilpatrick. Clarke currently is in third (with 10 percent), followed by Napoleon (9 percent) who has since exited the race, Hood (7 percent), and Fieger (6 percent). McPhail (4 percent), Beckham (3 percent), and Brooks (1 percent) round out the field. Three in ten voters (29 percent) remain undecided.

Hill leads among almost every subgroup of voters. He is particularly strong among seniors (22 percent), voters with some-college education (24 percent), strong Democrats (24 percent), the 14th Congressional district (23 percent), and in the north central (22 percent) and western (30 percent) regions of Detroit. Hill is also strong among voters focused on crime and drugs, services for seniors, and those who want to continue Archer's policies.



Kilpatrick is strongest with younger voters (16 percent), college graduates (16 percent), Independents (20 percent), Republicans (17 percent), voters in labor households (14 percent), single voters (18 percent), married women (15 percent), the 15th Congressional District (13 percent), and south Detroit (13 percent). Kilpatrick leads among voters who are primarily focused on education issues (23 percent), and is also strong with economy-oriented voters (18 percent).

In many ways, Clarke voters look like Kilpatrick voters; over half of Clarke voters pick Kilpatrick as their second choice (60 percent of Clarke voters pick Kilpatrick). Clarke is even stronger than Kilpatrick with younger voters (33 percent for Clarke), Republicans (27

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percent), labor households (14 percent), single voters (19 percent), moms (18 percent), in the 15th Congressional District (14 percent), and in the southern part of the city (21 percent). Like Kilpatrick, Clarke is also strong with economy-oriented voters (18 percent). Clearly, Kilpatrick would benefit from Clarke dropping out of the race.

The 9-way race is much closer among white voters than among African Americans. Hill begins the campaign with strong support in the African American community, with a 9-point lead over Kilpatrick, his closest competitor among African American voters. Kilpatrick and Hill are tied among white voters, with Napoleon trailing by only 1-point. Among African Americans, Hill gets 20 percent, Kilpatrick gets 11 percent and Clarke gets 10 percent. Three in ten African Americans remain undecided. Among whites, Kilpatrick and Hill each have 14 percent, Napoleon has 13 percent, and Clarke has 11 percent. Just over a quarter of white voters remain undecided (27 percent).

Currently, there is little gender gap, with Hill leading among both men (6-point advantage over Kilpatrick) and women (8-point advantage over Kilpatrick and Clarke), with 29 percent of each undecided. Regionally, Hill enjoys his largest advantages in the western (18-point advantage over Kilpatrick) and north-central (12-point advantage over Kilpatrick) parts of the city, though voters from north-central Detroit are the most likely to be undecided (36 percent). Hill is also strong in the 14th Congressional district (12-point lead), but is tied with Kilpatrick in the 15th district where both trail Clarke by 1-point.

Turnout on election day will be a key factor. Hill is strongest with voters who say they are certain to vote on election day (10-point lead over Kilpatrick), but trails Clarke (by 5-points) and Kilpatrick (by 1-point) among probable voters. Similarly, among strong Democrats Hill leads Kilpatrick by 17-points; among weak Democrats, Hill's lead over Kilpatrick is reduced to 6 points (and Kilpatrick leads among Independents and Republicans).

Ballot without Clarke, Fieger, McPhail, and Napoleon

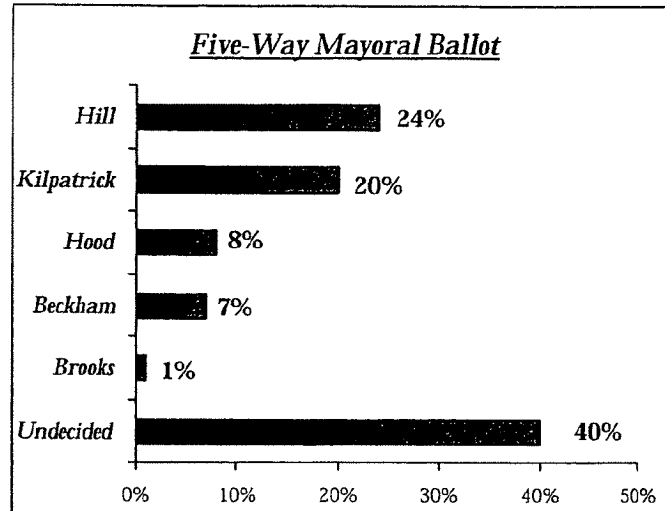
Perhaps a more interesting ballot is the 5-way ballot—without several candidates who have either yet to announce their plans or, since the poll was conducted, have opted out of the race. The five-way ballot considers a race without Clarke, Fieger, McPhail, and Napoleon³. In such a contest, Hill's margin drops to 4-points over Kilpatrick. Hill garners 24 percent to 20 percent for Kilpatrick, followed by Hood (8 percent), Beckham (7

³ The five-way ballot is simulated using the original ballot and the follow up question asking respondents for their second choice. Clarke, Fieger, McPhail, and Napoleon voters are allocated based on their second choice.

percent), and Brooks (1 percent). A plurality of voters remain undecided (40 percent). A majority of voters who support Clarke on the initial ballot shift to Kilpatrick (60 percent), once again emphasizing the benefit of getting Clarke out of the race. Napoleon voters are most likely to shift over to Hill (31 percent).

As with the 9-way race, there is little gender gap. Hill enjoys a 5-point lead over Kilpatrick with men and a 3-point lead among women.

In a race without the other candidates, Hill is even stronger with seniors, enjoying a 16-point lead over Kilpatrick with this important group. On the other hand, Kilpatrick is even stronger with younger voters, enjoying a 19-point lead with voters under age 45. Hill and Kilpatrick split pre-retirement voters (voters age 50 to 64). Similarly, the two front-runners split white voters, but Kilpatrick trails by 5-points among African-Americans.



As with the overall ballot, Kilpatrick is stronger with college graduates (6-point advantage) than non-college voters (trails by 7-points) and stronger with Republicans (+18) and Independents (+10) than weak Democrats (-5) or strong Democrats (-19) on the 5-way ballot. Regionally, Kilpatrick is stronger in the 15th District (+2) than in the 14th (-9). Kilpatrick also leads in the southern part of the city (+15), but trails in the other regions. Kilpatrick leads among voters whose top priorities are the economy (+20) and education (+11), but trails among voters focused on crime (-9) or services for seniors (-17).

Kilpatrick is currently strong with voters in labor households (+6). However, the power of labor endorsements suggests that if they come out for Hill in an aggressive way, this advantage could evaporate.

BASE AND PERSUASION TARGETS

The Kilpatrick Base

Kilpatrick has not locked up any group—there is no group in which he has even a quarter of the electorate. This is because large segments of the electorate lack a firm impression of him (or many of the other candidates), thus remaining undecided and up for grabs. It is noticeable that while Hill is well known, he has not locked up a significant base. Most voters know him (and like him) but are not voting for him. They are waiting for an alternative.

Kilpatrick is stronger with certain groups, including younger voters, college graduates, married women, Republicans, and Independents. Kilpatrick also does somewhat better among white voters, among voters in the 15th Congressional District and in the southern part of Detroit. Kwame's support among younger voters and Independents is good news since these are frequently tough groups for a candidate to lock up—they tend to be late deciders, remaining undecided until the final weeks of the campaign.

Kilpatrick's base is largely constituted of voters under 40 (16 percent vote for Kilpatrick on the initial 9-way ballot), college graduates (16 percent), Independents (20 percent), Republicans (17 percent), married women (15 percent), voters in labor households (14 percent), and white voters (14 percent). Regionally, Kilpatrick is somewhat stronger in the 15th District (13 percent) and in the southern part of the city (13 percent). He also does better among voters who are focused on education (23 percent) or jobs (18 percent) as their top priority.

KILPATRICK'S BASE OF SUPPORT (INITIAL 9-WAY BALLOT)

• <i>Under 40 (16%)</i>	⇒ <i>13% of the electorate</i>
• <i>College graduates (16%)</i>	⇒ <i>22% of the electorate</i>
• <i>Married women (15%)</i>	⇒ <i>18% of the electorate</i>
• <i>Voters in labor households(14%)</i>	⇒ <i>28% of the electorate</i>
• <i>Independents (20%)</i>	⇒ <i>15% of the electorate</i>
• <i>Republicans (17%)</i>	⇒ <i>21% of the electorate</i>
• <i>Whites (14%)</i>	⇒ <i>22% of the electorate</i>
• <i>15th Congressional District (13%)</i>	⇒ <i>42% of the electorate</i>
• <i>South Detroit (13%)</i>	⇒ <i>19% of the electorate</i>
• <i>Education oriented voters (23%)</i>	⇒ <i>17% of the electorate</i>
• <i>Jobs and the economy oriented voters (18%)</i>	⇒ <i>13% of the electorate</i>

Persuasion Targets

Currently, just under a third of likely voters are undecided (29 percent) and that number goes up if some of the possible candidates are not in the race (40 percent undecided on ballot without Napoleon, Clarke, Fieger, and McPhail). Overwhelmingly, undecided voters lack a firm impression of Kilpatrick (50 percent no opinion/never heard). However, among those with an impression of Kilpatrick, 37 percent are favorable while only 14 percent view him unfavorably. Gill Hill is better known among undecided voters (26 percent no opinion/never heard). Among those with an impression of Hill, 59 percent view him favorably while only 15 percent view him unfavorably. As has already been noted, Hill is well known and well liked by these voters but has been unable to convert them into voters.

The undecided vote tends to concentrate disproportionately among strong Democrats (33 percent undecided), seniors (31 percent), women over age 45 (31 percent), unmarried women (33 percent) voters without a college degree (29 percent)—particularly non-college women (30 percent), voters who attend church every week (30 percent), and voters in the north central part of Detroit (36 percent). Those voters who think it is time for a change instead of continuing Archer's policies remain largely undecided (30 percent). Voters who are primarily focused on seniors' services (48 percent) are also highly undecided. Additionally, while men and women are equally undecided (29 percent), because women constitute a larger percentage of the overall electorate, women make up 58 percent of undecided voters. Similarly, African Americans (29 percent undecided) constitute the overwhelming majority of undecided voters (75 percent of undecided voters are African American).

Regionally, voters in the north-central part of the city tend to be more likely to be undecided. Over a third of voters in north-central Detroit (36 percent) are currently undecided—voters in this part of the city make up 38 percent of the undecided voters across the city. East Detroit is the next most undecided (28 percent), followed by the southern part of the city (27 percent).

THE SWING VOTE

- *Women (29% undecided), particularly... ⇒ 58% of undecided voters*
 - *Non-college women (30%) ⇒ 47% of undecided voters*
 - *Unmarried Women (33%) ⇒ 43% of undecided voters*
 - *Women age 45+ (31%) ⇒ 49% of undecided voters*
- *African American voters (29%) ⇒ 75% of undecided voters*
- *Seniors (31%) ⇒ 48% of undecided voters*
- *Strong Democrats (33%) ⇒ 44% of undecided voters*
- *Voters without a college degree (29%) ⇒ 77% of undecided voters*
- *Voters who attend church weekly (30%) ⇒ 51% of undecided voters*
- *Voters in North-Central Detroit (36%) ⇒ 38% of undecided voters*
- *Voters in East Detroit (28%) ⇒ 32% of undecided voters*
- *Senior services oriented voters (48%) ⇒ 18% of undecided voters*
- *Voters who think it is time for a change (30%) ⇒ 58% of undecided voters*

MESSAGES AND POSITIONING

Simulating An Informed Electorate

Simulating equal levels of positive media from each of the campaigns⁴ brings Kilpatrick into the lead. After hearing descriptions of each of the candidates, their priorities and their accomplishments, the vote shifts, with Kwame moving ahead of Hill. No other candidate gains as much support as Kilpatrick does. Voters who heard a "quality of life" profile afford Kilpatrick a 6-point lead, while voters who heard a "new economy" theme give Kilpatrick a 5-point lead.

After hearing positive information about each of the candidates, 14 percent of voters shift toward Kwame, with only 3 percent shifting away. Only 6 percent shift towards Hill. Those voters most likely to shift toward Kwame include voters under age 45 (33 percent shift toward Kwame), college educated women (20 percent), married women (20 percent), Republicans (30 percent), voters in labor households (19 percent), people who go to church infrequently (25 percent), and voters in the southern part of Detroit (24 percent). Further, 19 percent of voters who like Kilpatrick, but don't vote for him on the initial ballot shift towards him after we simulate an informed electorate.

<i>Kilpatrick's Positive Profiles</i>	
<i><u>New Economy Theme</u></i>	<i><u>Quality of Life Theme</u></i>
<i>Kwame Kilpatrick is the dynamic House Minority Leader in the state legislature with a record of fighting for Detroit and proven leadership. He has vision and a written plan to prepare Detroit for the New Economy that includes improving school infrastructure and resources, including expanding their access to the internet, providing job training for young people, and encouraging regional cooperation to bring better paying jobs and increased business ownership to Detroit.</i>	<i>Kwame Kilpatrick is the dynamic House Minority Leader in the state legislature a record of proven leadership and bringing people together to get things done. He wants to improve the quality of life in Detroit and restore our neighborhoods. As Mayor, he will tear down abandoned buildings, improve the quality and responsiveness of city services, and build open spaces and family parks on the riverfront.</i>
<i>(25% Kilpatrick, 20% Hill, 11% Hood, 8% Napoleon, 4% Beckham, 4% McPhail, 2% Brooks, 26% undecided)</i>	<i>(25% Kilpatrick, 19% Hill, 10% Napoleon, 6% Hood, 5% McPhail, 4% Beckham, 1% Brooks, 30% undecided)</i>

⁴ For budgetary reasons, not all of the candidates were included in this simulation. Clarke and Fieger were excluded from the experiment and thus do not appear on the ballot after the simulation.

Positive Positioning

There are four components to the Kilpatrick message, with an overarching theme of energetic, dynamic leadership summed up by the campaign's tagline: Our Future. Right Here. Right Now.

The four key components illustrating this umbrella message are: education, public safety, services for children and seniors, and making Detroit work for Detroit, with specific policy initiatives illustrating each. In terms of paid communication, education and public safety are probably best conveyed through television (portraying energy, youth, and change) while services for kids and seniors and "making Detroit work" can be used in the expanded mediums of earned media and mail. We suggest a separate track to seniors (and especially senior women) that would begin immediately and include mail and phones and emphasize the senior component of each message. Among undecided voters, service oriented messages are particularly strong—including public safety like EMS as well as fixing streetlights.

Below, we highlight these themes and the specific language that worked best in the poll.

1. Education: Voters have a diffuse issue agenda, but education (17 percent top concern) trails only crime and drugs in importance, and voters overwhelmingly (including seniors) say that they want a mayor who will put education first. While we will be competing with other candidates on the other issues, Kwame has unique credentials and a unique biography that makes education an issue that we should be able to capture.

An effective Kilpatrick education message capitalizes on Kwame's experience as a teacher and as a father of two young children and stresses investing in schools, preparing kids for the jobs of the future, and investing in after school programs to keep kids safe. There is also a values component to education (especially among older voters) with character education and teaching kids respect and responsibility being key components of our message. Successful language from the poll is included below:

Q56. As a former middle school teacher and father of two young children, Kilpatrick believes that improving education is the best way to prepare our students for new jobs in the New Economy. That's why he supports reducing class size to less than 20 students per class, teacher testing to improve the quality of teachers, and wiring every classroom to the Internet to give students the tools they need. (62 percent convincing, 26 percent very convincing)

Q69. As a former middle school teacher and father of two young children, Kilpatrick will be a Mayor who puts improving our schools first – working to reduce class size, include character education to make sure that students

learn the right values like respect and responsibility, and expand after school programs so children have somewhere to go and stay out of trouble. (69 percent convincing, 23 percent very convincing)

Q81. Kilpatrick believes that the best way to fight juvenile crime is to offer more after school programs to keep young people off of the streets. His idea is to keep schools open later and upgrade library facilities and expand their days of operation, so that children can have a safe place to stay until parents come home from work. He will also create youth mentoring programs with kids and city workers. (63 percent convincing, 22 percent very convincing)

2. Public Safety: Crime and drugs are the top concern for voters (21 percent) and voters say they want a mayor who will crack down on crime and drugs. Voters put at the top of their agenda for mayor someone who will fight crime and crack and down on police brutality. However, with Hill's credentials on crime, it will be difficult for us to take this issue on directly.

There are a number of components of a public safety message on which Kwame is credible and where we have specific proposals that resonate with voters. In particular, focusing on ensuring that public safety services, fire services, and EMS are ready to respond to emergencies has both a make-government-work and public-safety aspect, giving it added power. This is both a top priority for voters and a top message. Credentialing with an early endorsement by firefighters and EMS will also help reinforce this message.

Other successful messages focus on safe schools, neighborhood policing, and dedicating an officer in each precinct to handle crime against seniors. Each of these allows us to address public safety without getting into a debate with Hill over who will be "tougher" on crime. Successful language from the poll is included below:

Q63. Kilpatrick believes that the current state of public safety services, fire services, and Emergency Medical Services is unacceptable. As Mayor, he will work to ensure that these departments have the new equipment they need to put out fires and respond to emergencies promptly and without delay. (66 percent convincing, 26 percent very convincing)

Q65. As a the father of two small children and a former middle school teacher, Kilpatrick feel strongly that every child in Detroit has a right to a quality education in a safe school. He has been a leader in keeping guns out of schools and as Mayor, he will enforce zero tolerance for guns, drugs and violence in schools. (65 percent convincing, 26 percent very convincing)

Q62. Kilpatrick will make cracking down on crime a top priority. In the state legislature, he has been a strong supporter of neighborhood policing. Police work best when they get out of their police cars and they walk a beat, getting to know the neighborhood and the people where they work. As Mayor, Kilpatrick will expand community policing, increase the number of patrols in the neighborhoods, and have police work closer with neighborhoods and schools. (61 percent convincing, 24 percent very convincing)

Q59. As Mayor, Kilpatrick will stand up for our seniors. He will require that every police precinct have at least one officer specially trained to handle crimes against senior citizens. He will crack down on scams and

telemarketing fraud and establish a senior fraud hotline. Our seniors need to be protected from the those who prey on them. (62 percent convincing, 23 percent very convincing)

3. Services for children and seniors: Voters are focused on city services—whether in terms of public safety or broken street lights. This is particularly true of the crucial undecided, swing voters. To some extent, this message is tied to the public safety arguments, and particularly safe schools, neighborhood police, and a police officer in every precinct working on seniors issues. Additionally, voters respond strongly to language around “my child” health care programs and background checks for childcare and eldercare workers. Leadership and energy to make the city work effectively are also part of the services message. Successful language from the poll is included below:

Q68. Detroit's health record is one of the worst in the country and the city has been lax about getting millions of dollars for potential health care programs. Kilpatrick will fight to ensure access to quality health care for all Detroiters by aggressively advocating for the expansion of QUOTE-UNQUOTE "My Child" programs and setting priorities to seek additional state public health funds to provide health care for the uninsured and the underinsured. (63 percent convincing, 23 percent very convincing)

Q75. Kilpatrick will require criminal background checks for childcare workers, after school supervisors, eldercare workers and people who work in nursing homes. Kilpatrick believes our children and our parents are too important to be left in the hands of unchecked workers, and as Mayor, he'll put an end to it. (65 percent convincing, 22 percent very convincing)

4. Make Detroit work for Detroit: Messages in this area capture Kwame's experience in Lansing, the desire of voters to put the interests of the city first, and the desire for government to work for, and be fiscally accountable to, ordinary voters. Specific language that resonates with voters includes holding city departments accountable, requiring city contractors to pay a livable wage and give jobs to the people of Detroit first, fixing potholes and street lights, and capitalizing on Kwame's experience in Lansing to see to it that Detroit gets its fair share⁵. Successful language from the poll is included below:

Q78. Kilpatrick thinks that it is time that the people of Detroit had a city government that worked for them. He'll hold every city department accountable, make sure city employees put in a full eight hour day, and as one of his first acts as Mayor, he'll order an independent audit of all city departments to root out waste, fraud, and abuse within city government and prosecute any fraudulent behavior. (68 percent convincing, 24 percent very convincing)

Q70. Kilpatrick knows how hard it is for Detroit's working families to make ends meet and find good paying jobs here. That's why he supports greater economic empowerment for Detroiters by requiring city contractors to pay a living wage to their workers and he is in favor of Detroit First legislation that will guarantee that city contract jobs go first to the people here in Detroit. (68 percent convincing, 22 percent very convincing)

⁵ Fighting for Detroit's fair share should be attached to the first three messages—education, public safety, services for children and seniors—not quality of life which tests less well.

Q73. It's just not right that Detroit's streets, overpasses and street lights are in such bad repair. Kilpatrick will reform city departments to make sure potholes are quickly repaired, our streets are well-lit for safety, and he will work to increase funding from the state to help fix our roads and overpasses. (68 percent convincing, 21 percent very convincing)

MESSAGE	TOP POSITIVE KILPATRICK MESSAGES		
	ALL VOTERS	UNDECIDED VOTERS	SENIORS
Q63 Work to improve public safety, fire and EMS	(66% conv., 26% very)	(62% conv., 21% very)	(69% conv., 27% very)
Q65 Promote zero tolerance for guns, drugs in schools	(65% conv., 26% very)	(55% conv., 17% very)	(66% conv., 25% very)
Q56 Believes improving education will prepare kids for the future	(62% conv., 26% very)	(58% conv., 15% very)	(67% conv., 26% very)
Q78 Will hold city departments accountable	(68% conv., 24% very)	(53% conv., 14% very)	(70% conv., 27% very)
Q62 Will expand neighborhood policing	(61% conv., 24% very)	(51% conv., 17% very)	(63% conv., 26% very)
Q69 For smaller class sizes, character education, after school programs	(69% conv., 23% very)	(64% conv., 16% very)	(72% conv., 24% very)
Q68 Will fight for health care access through my child programs	(63% conv., 23% very)	(56% conv., 20% very)	(66% conv., 26% very)
Q59 Will use police to help protect senior citizens	(62% conv., 23% very)	(57% conv., 17% very)	(66% conv., 24% very)
Q70 Favors city contract jobs go to Detroit residents first	(68% conv., 22% very)	(63% conv., 20% very)	(68% conv., 26% very)
Q75 Will require background checks for childcare, eldercare workers	(65% conv., 22% very)	(59% conv., 17% very)	(69% conv., 26% very)
Q81 Will offer after school programs for kids	(63% conv., 22% very)	(56% conv., 15% very)	(68% conv., 28% very)
Q73 Will reform city departments to fix roads and street lights	(68% conv., 21% very)	(60% conv., 24% very)	(71% conv., 25% very)

A Unique Seniors Strategy

Because seniors are such a critical audience, the campaign will need to develop a unique communications strategy targeting senior voters. Top messages for seniors resemble those for voters overall, with particular emphasis on public safety and making Detroit work for Detroit. Top senior messages include working to improve public safety, fire, and EMS (69 percent convincing, 27 percent very convincing); neighborhood policing (63 percent convincing, 26 percent very convincing); background checks for child care and elder care workers (69 percent convincing, 26 percent very convincing); holding city departments accountable (70 percent convincing, 27 percent very convincing); and jobs for city residents (68 percent convincing, 26 percent very convincing). Education is also a top message for

seniors, including safe schools (66 percent convincing, 25 percent very convincing), after school programs (68 percent convincing, 28 percent very convincing), and improving education to prepare kids for the future (67 percent convincing, 26 percent very convincing).

Negative Positioning

None of the attacks on Kilpatrick registers any real intensity among voters. Similarly, seniors do not respond to any of the attacks, and the attacks are even less convincing with undecided voters. Further, in a fractured field, negatives only will hurt the candidate that uses them. With that said, the most persuasive messages against Kilpatrick suggest he is a political insider (48 percent doubts, 18 percent serious doubts), and that he doesn't have enough experience to be mayor (44 percent doubts, 17 percent serious doubts).

These attacks resonate more with African Americans than with white voters, and also with Republicans more than Independents and Democrats. These attacks also carry a little more weight in the southern part of the city and in the 15th Congressional District. Still, even among these voters, none of these attacks raises serious doubts about Kilpatrick.